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HIS OWN DEADLINE IS APRIL 18

Will Kennedy offer crash program for economic recovery?

By Russ Nixon
Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON

THE HIGHEST UNEMPLOYMENT in 20 years, the first vague suggestions that the recession might be ending, and official warnings about "indefinitely persistent" mass unemployment have combined to confront the Kennedy Administration with a grave decision. For President Kennedy, in announcing his limited proposals for economic recovery on Feb. 2, said: "If these measures prove to be inadequate to the task, I shall submit further proposals to the Congress within 75 days. We will do what needs to be done to fulfill the high promise of the American economy." The 75 days will be up April 18.

- Will the Kennedy Administration be content with the possibilities of limited recovery and decide not to go beyond its initial orthodox economic program?
- Or will it next month put forth a crash program of tax cuts and deficit financed public works aimed at full recovery and full employment?

HIGHEST SINCE 1941: On March 7 the U.S. Dept. of Labor announced that the number of completely unemployed workers in mid-February rose by 300,000 to a total of 5,705,000—highest since 1941. This meant that 8.1% of the entire labor force was totally jobless, although the "seasonally adjusted" figure of 6.8% out of work was the rate commonly reported. An additional 1,745,000 non-farm workers, mostly in factories, were listed as "involuntary part time workers" who worked at least one hour, but less than full time during the survey week.

More than 1,600,000 of the jobless have been out of work four months or more.

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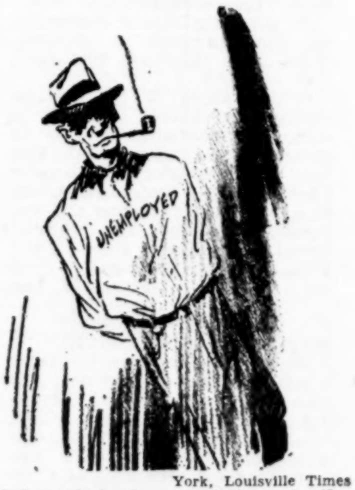

York, Louisville Times

"Nothin' much to do except listen to the 'prosperity' speeches . . ."

A COMMENT ON THE AMERICAN ECONOMY: UNSOLD NEW CARS IN STORAGE IN ST. LOUIS

They keep the surplus cars out of the bad weather in the Union Station, but there is some question whether the Administration's economic measures will return the jobless to the warmth of a full work week (see Russ Nixon, right).

FRUSTRATION AT THE UN

Congo's a mess—Disarmament gets nowhere

By Kumar Goshal

THE RECONVENED 15th session of the UN General Assembly seemed to be facing frustration on the two most urgent issues before it: The Congo and disarmament.

- Congolese protegees of Belgium and its allies nullified all UN directives even before the Assembly took up the issue.
- The U.S. appeared to be unwilling to tackle the disarmament question at the current session.

On Feb. 21 the UN Security Council passed its strongest and most explicit Congo resolution, sponsored by Liberia, the United Arab Republic and Ceylon. The Council for the first time authorized the UN Congo Command to "use force if necessary" to restore order—thus removing the excuse that UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold had often given for his ineffectual handling of the situation in the Congo. The Feb. 21 directives were in addition to the previous ones calling for the maintenance of the Congo's territorial integrity and the reconvening of its parliament.

NKRUMAH'S JOURNEY: To underline the gravity of the situation in the Congo, Ghana's President Nkrumah made a special trip to address the Assembly when it reopened on March 7.

Nkrumah urged more African representation in policy-making positions in the UN Congo Command. He criticized Belgium and its partners for intriguing to keep the Congo divided and for apparently paying the salaries of the unruly Congolese armies in Leopoldville and Katanga. He reminded Hammarskjold that he had never received a reply to his letter of last December to the Secretary General asking who was paying the armies.

On the Soviet proposal for replacing Hammarskjold with a three-man secretariat, Nkrumah said he had "strong views" on the UN structure and the Secretary General's position because he believed that, to survive, the UN "must adjust itself to the changing political circumstances of the world today."

PRESTIGE NEEDED: As a conciliatory gesture, he suggested postponing the question of Hammarskjold's status. Stressing the urgency of settling the Congo problem on the basis of the series of Security Council resolutions, Nkrumah said:

"If speedy and effective action is taken now in the Congo, the UN will have that prestige and moral backing which it must have if it is to tackle other even graver world problems."

Ignoring all UN resolutions, however, 18 Congolese "leaders" gathered in Tananarive in the Malagasy Republic. Among them were Belgian-backed Tshombe, self-proclaimed President of secessionist Katanga province; U.S.-supported Kasavubu, President of the Republic of the Congo; and Kalonji, self-styled President of South Kasai. Tshombe had taken the initiative for the gathering. Lumumba's vice premier Gizenga, whose forces control over half the Congo, refused to attend.

TANANARIVE RESULTS: On March 12 the Tananarive conference issued a communique, which confirmed the worst fears of those who had noted the increasingly open attempts to splinter the Congo along tribal lines (see GUARDIAN, Jan. 30).

The communique (1) liquidated the

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WALKS, VIGILS AND DEMONSTRATIONS

Dodd fires again as peace groups plan Easter actions

By Robert E. Light

AS PEACE GROUPS across the country prepared for a variety of Easter demonstrations, Sen. Thomas J. Dodd (D-Conn.) fired a missile at the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. Dodd, who is vice chairman of the Internal Security subcommittee, told the Senate March 8 that there was "serious Communist infiltration at chapter level throughout" SANE.

He revealed that 27 persons had been called to closed committee hearings last October. Twenty-three refused to cooperate; 22 invoked the Fifth Amendment. Nine of the non-cooperating witnesses were chairmen of SANE chapters in New York; three were rank-and-file members and ten had a tenuous relationship with SANE. Some had taken ads in a SANE journal and the others allegedly contributed money or worked as unpaid volunteers. The other witness was Arnold Johnson, legislative director of the Communist Party, who invoked the Fifth Amendment.

GIVEN A CHANCE: Dodd said he wanted "to make it emphatically clear that there has never been any question about the bona fides of the distinguished Americans who constitute the National [SANE] Committee." He complimented them for the "energetic steps" they had taken "to cope with the [communist] problem." But, he added, "it would be misleading and dangerous . . . to believe that with these actions the problem of Communist infiltration has ceased to exist . . . If the Communists, under direction, have infiltrated the local organizations of SANE in the New York area, it can be taken for granted that there has been a parallel infiltration, in varying degrees, in other areas."

Dodd said that he would not introduce

(Continued on Page 8)

THE MAIL BAG

Bobby's presumption

CORAL GABLES, FLA.

Only a man spoiled to the core by huge unearned and undeserved wealth, plus the eminence bought by throwing the weight around of his father's fantastic fortune, could be guilty of the gross presumption Robert Kennedy gave voice to when he spoke of an "obligation" to "lead" his betters who happened to be less well-heeled.

Someone must tell him, and as soon as possible, that the right to lead is not conferred by the accident of having been born rich, but must be won. And if there are three qualities that are quintessential to leadership they are integrity, strong conviction and devotion to principle.

On these qualities the pint-size exponent of the New Machiavellianism now enthroned in Washington scores zero.

Edward Schindeler

Corporation morality

NEW ROCHELLE, N.Y.

May I point out what might be considered an oversight in the GUARDIAN? I know it is dirty pool to rake up a man's past every time he gets in a jam, but it is done in labor and political stories all the time. I had noted, therefore, that the bought-press (I still like that term) neglected to mention in the GE-et-al case the fact that other second or third echelon officials had gotten trapped in Jersey a few years ago rewarding large buyers at an electric products show with the transient services of call girls. No one has recalled this earlier aspect of corporation morality, not even the GUARDIAN.

Name withheld

Either or

SEATTLE, WASH.

At our 30th District Democratic Club meeting at Auburn, Wash., the following resolution was adopted:

"Since there is no defense against the atomic bomb it is either international suicide or international disarmament. We, the 30th District Democratic Club, urge the State Legislature to memorialize Congress and the President to work for international disarmament through the United Nations at once."

Harry M. Lux

The McPhaul family

HIGHLAND PARK, MICH.

Arthur McPhaul, an honorary member of Ford Local 600, has now been in the Federal Correctional Institution at Milan, Mich., for the first six weeks of a nine-month sentence. He was sentenced for contempt of Congress—that is, refusal to give the House Un-American Committee the membership list and the contributor's list of the former Civil Rights Congress, of which he was secretary.

Four of the nine justices of the U.S. Supreme Court agreed that McPhaul was well within his constitutional rights. But five thought otherwise, so the sentence has to be served.

Art and his family are taking the rap. Mrs. McPhaul is totally disabled by a stroke. Claudette, their 15-year-old daughter, goes to school. The family is without funds for rent, fuel, food, medicine, etc. They have nothing except what we can give them. We are sure many people will wish to help them during Arthur's imprisonment.

We hope you can make a contribution for the months Art will be behind the bars because of his devotion to principle and his desire to protect his fellow men and women. Under a new Federal regulation, parole may start after three months if the Federal board approves.

Carl Haessler, Treasurer,
McPhaul Defense Committee
39 Massachusetts Ave.,

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

A drive against rats was conducted in an upper West Side block yesterday by members of a Democratic club and Health Department inspectors. Before the march on 89th Street, the crusaders were briefed by two Health Department men, Richard Rohman and Clinton Garvin. They said that of the 600 or 800 rat bites on children reported last year, most were caused by failure to wash the children's faces or to remove crumbs or spilled milk from their mouths.

—The New York **Times**, March 5

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: B S., New York City

Stamps for peace

NEW MILFORD, CONN.

We have been using the Credo series of 4c stamps, especially the Lincoln and Jefferson ones, on our holiday mail. Recently we asked at the P.O. if there was a new one and were offered Francis Scott Key, with the quote, "This be our motto, In God is our trust." So here and there we are using this stamp, and in the letter we call attention to it and then add, "If this is true, why missiles? Why the Polaris sub? Why not total disarmament?"

It's just a suggestion . . .

We liked Florence Luscomb's suggestion in your Letter column, of using 'Ink For Peace,' and are sending letters and postcards to Washington. No money for telegrams—cost of one telegram will pay for a whole lot of 3c and 4c stamps.

R. E. & E. S.

The big but

BRONX, N.Y.

I was on the last GUARDIAN tour. When I speak to people about Cuba, I find that I should say at the outset: "Do you want me to tell you what you want to hear, or do you want to hear the truth?" It is agreed that the revolutionary government is doing many good things for the people, but there is always the big **but**, that Cuba is going communist.

Cuba is not communist. She is building her own economic system in a way that will be most beneficial to her people. If they do eventually pick communism, that is for the people of Cuba to decide, not the U.S.

It now is considered un-American to be favorable towards the Cuban revolution. I feel it is un-American not to be favorable to it. The U.S. is supposed to be a synonym for freedom, human rights and dignity. But instead of supporting Cuba, we support the tyrannical dictatorships of Spain, Portugal and the Dominican Republic.

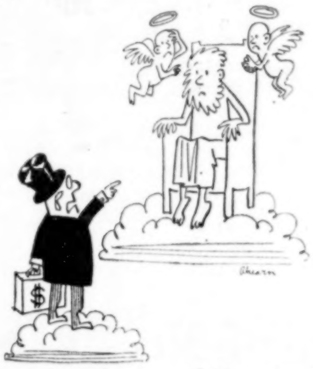
The real reason for the travel ban is to prevent Americans from seeing for themselves.

Alan M. Respler

The right to see

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

There have been some magnificent films made in the Soviet Union that every country but this one gets to see. It is a great pity that the culture of Russia and China is, to such a large extent, shut out from the American people. We receive letters from friends in Canada, Australia and England not to miss Sholokhov's **A Man's Destiny**, an "extremely powerful film," and ecstatic letters concerning Chinese films and their opera and ballet. Why cannot we get to see these things? **The Hylands**



Anthony Ahearn

"What do you mean, I'm not ready yet for this place! Aren't you aware that I own fifty-one percent of the stock here?"

Congratulations

NORTH HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.

We take this opportunity to congratulate the GUARDIAN on having such an excellent editor as James Aronson and to thank the paper for sending him forth on a nation-wide tour so that we readers might have a chance to hear and meet him in person.

The paper is doing a real service for our country and its people.

Dr. & Mrs. J. C. Coleman

En-light-ening

CLEVELAND, OHIO

The account by Robert E. Light in the GUARDIAN (Feb. 20) about the anti-trust violations by electrical manufacturers is very enlightening (no pun intended).

Additional value, it seems to me, may be gained by viewing these violations in their world setting. Price fixing is no crime in the Soviet Union. Our big American corporations would like to have what the Soviets have, at the expense of the rest of America.

Julius A. Sobon

Goshal in Canada

TORONTO, CANADA

Enclosed is my usual buck-a-month contribution for March. I had intended sending a little extra for Kumar Goshal's expected assignment in Africa, but I had the pleasure of meeting him in person at a lecture here March 2, and gave him the "extra" with a good deal of satisfaction.

The NATIONAL GUARDIAN and its readers are indeed fortunate in having a person of Goshal's stature. The standing ovation he received after his brilliant and enlightening talk on the Congo, was overwhelmingly deserved.

M. Berke

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

BILLY GRAHAM IS RATED as the greatest evangelist the U.S. has seen since Billy Sunday. This month, in Los Angeles, Graham had an appointment he wanted to keep secret. But newsmen dogged his car in a 50-mile-an-hour chase, found that the appointment was with Mickey Cohen, the West Coast's most notorious and shot-at gambler, gangster and racketeer. Graham said he didn't know Cohen would be there, but Mickey was talkative:

"Graham and I had plans to meet with a flock of Hollywood big-shots and nobody stood nobody up . . . We talked about ways of fighting the communists."

Graham said they discussed religion, but Mickey contradicted: "Naw, we didn't talk about religion. Billy and I never talk about it . . . If I wanted to talk religion I'd see my rabbi, wouldn't I?"

—From the National Guardian, March 21, 1951

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Vol. 13, No. 23 401 March 20, 1961

REPORT TO READERS

Bloody but unbowed

IN TUCSON, ARIZ., LAST MONTH, University of Arizona botany professor Dr. Alan MacEwan, who went to Cuba with his wife and two sons at Christmas time, and Clyde Appleton, who went with the GUARDIAN tour at the same time, told the Tucson Public Forum of their enthusiasm for Cuba's march on poverty, disease and illiteracy, and taxed the U.S. press with printing prejudicial accounts of Cuban affairs. Prof. MacEwan singled out the GUARDIAN for "objective, glowing" reports on Cuba's progress.

At the forum Hurst B. Amyx, Tucson radio commentator referred to in the local press as a "self-styled crusader against Communism," challenged the speakers' views and this month conducted a forum of his own. There he attacked teachers who "twist the minds of youngsters to make them prey to communism," and called the GUARDIAN "communist, subversive, always on the side of the Kremlin." (Earlier, on Feb. 25 at a showing of the film **Operation Abolition**, Amyx called the **Reporter** magazine a Communist-front publication written by known Communists and fellow travelers.)

On March 2, after the exchange of forums, Dr. MacEwan disclosed that on Feb. 27 he had been informed by his department head at the University that "we cannot use your services after the present academic year . . . . We have not been satisfied with your teaching."

MacEwan is an old offender: he has taken part in two peace marches and was threatened with arrest for picketing the Davis-Monthan Air Force Base near Tucson in protest against the placing of Titan missile silos there. He is 52, got his doctorate at the University of Missouri, and taught at Reed College, Portland, Ore.

IN PITTSBURGH, Dr. Robert Colodny, Abraham Lincoln Brigade veteran of the Spanish civil war whose book, **The Struggle for Madrid**, was reviewed in the GUARDIAN last year, is fighting for his job at the University of Pittsburgh because he compared the crushing of democratic Spain with the mobilization against Cuba today. Cubans and other Latin Americans all remember, he said, how the Spanish republic was "crucified by international intervention." In Cuba, he said, "the dynamics of American power will lead to intervention to rescue our investments."

Dr. Colodny is an old offender, too: he not only fought and was wounded in Spain, he worked for the Cardenas government in Mexico in the 30's, is co-chairman of the Pittsburgh chapter of the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy and was a founding member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. He taught at the University of California, San Francisco State and Wesleyan University before coming to Pitt in 1959. In Dr. Colodny's case, the University has not interfered with his off-campus activities, but the trustees are out to get him for approving of Fidel Castro.

•

SUPREME COURT DECISIONS have brought jail-going close to hand for the seven Cleveland Taft-Hartley defendants as well as for Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson for contempt of the House Un-American Activities Committee. (Of this Committee, R. F. Boe of Pahokee, Fla., writes: "I'm an old man and can't ever get these things straight: is it the Committee that is Un-American, or just its Activities?")

The Cleveland seven include Fred and Marie Haug, Eric Reinthaler, Hyman Lumer, James West, Sam Reed and Andrew Remes.

Mrs. Haug, a UE leader at the time of her alleged falsification of the since-nullified T-H non-Communist affidavit, was a national officer of the Progressive Party. All face fines of $2,500 in addition to 18 months in prison. The Haugs' 10-year-old daughter will live with relatives but they may have to sacrifice their home to pay the double fine. Aid for them may be sent to Ad Hoc Committee, P.O. Box 2461, East Cleveland Station; for Reinthaler to his attorney, Frank Donner, 342 Madison Ave., New York City; and for the others to their attorney, Victor Rabinowitz, 25 Broad St., New York City.

BRADEN AND WILKINSON, with Aubrey Williams, chairman of the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, intend to start out from Chicago March 28 for a series of meetings during which they propose to "talk our way into Atlanta." The best way to back them up is to attend these meetings if you can, and in any case to contribute now to their continuing activities—Southern Conference Educational Fund, 822 Perdido St., New Orleans 12, La. (Braden); and the Natl. Abolition Committee, 617 N. Larchmont Boulevard, Los Angeles 4, Calif.

—THE GUARDIAN

THE PREDICTION IS NO LEGISLATION IN 1961

An appraisal of the President's approach to civil rights

When I believe that we can usefully move ahead [on civil rights] in the field of legislation, I will recommend it to the Congress. I do believe that there's a good deal of things that we can do now in administering laws previously passed by the Congress, particularly in the area of voting, and also by using the powers which the Constitution gives to the President through executive orders. When I feel that there's necessity for a Congressional action with a chance of getting that Congressional action then I will recommend it to the Congress.

—President Kennedy at his March 8 press conference

By Joanne Grant

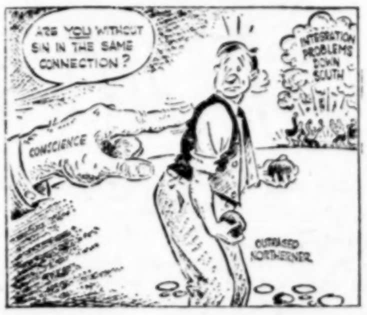
HALF OF PRESIDENT Kennedy's first 100 days have been characterized by caution in almost every area, and nowhere has this been more noticeable than in civil rights. There is common agreement among the most reliable commentators that the President does not intend to introduce any civil rights legislation this year.

In July, the Democrats promised action to "assure equal access for all Americans to all areas of community life, including voting booths, schoolrooms, jobs, housing and public facilities."

In October, before the election, Kennedy's conference on constitutional rights made six recommendations: (1) establishment of an office responsible directly to the President to insure prompt and vigorous executive action on civil rights; (2) immediate enactment of a comprehensive civil rights bill; (3) a series of White House conferences on school desegregation; (4) full use of the Attorney General's power to protect voting rights; (5) an executive order to prohibit discrimination in Federally-assisted housing; (6) reorganization of the Committee on Government Contracts.

To date the administration has acted in two areas: the Attorney General has stepped up activity against the denial of voting rights and the President has issued an executive order on discrimination in employment.

NAACP HOPEFUL: The anti-discrimination order, said the NAACP, "can be a major step forward" in ending racial discrimination. Roy Wilkins, its executive secretary, said: "How far it will go in this direction depends, as the order itself notes, upon the vigor, consistency and thoroughness with which it is enforced." The Kennedy order is stronger than Eisenhower's 1954 directive in the forcefulness of its language and in two provisions: (1) that companies with Government contracts must take "affirmative action" to recruit, train and upgrade Negroes; (2) that companies must make periodic reports to the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. Both orders included the power to terminate contracts with companies which fail to comply. The power was never used under Eisenhower.


ARE YOU WITHOUT SIN IN THE SAME CONNECTION?
INTEGRATION PROBLEMS DOWN SOUTH
CONSCIENCE
OUTRAGED NORTHERNER

Alexander, Philadelphia Evening Bulletin

"Hold it!"

It remains to be seen whether or not the new Committee will be more effective than the two Eisenhower groups—Committee on Government Contracts and the Committee on Government Employment Practices. Chairman of the Committee will be Vice President Lyndon Johnson whose civil rights record is poor. But the Committee's vice chairman, Secy. of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg, has launched a policy of "affirmative action." His personnel chief, Edward J. McVeigh, is on a recruiting tour of Negro colleges. The Dept. of Labor will be the investigative arm of the new Committee.

IS IT A SUBSTITUTE? The employment order may be the first of many anti-discrimination executive moves. Yet, Kennedy's emphasis seems to be on helping the Negro through economic measures. The President's message on Federal aid for housing construction, which followed by a few days the job order, is cited as an aid to Negroes who need low-cost housing more than any other section of the population.

Since minorities are hardest hit by the nation's economic problems, it is true that measures which alleviate economic distress help the Negro. But it also raises the question whether such moves are a substitute for action on civil rights.

Louis Lautier wrote in the **Afro-American** (Feb. 11): "Ever since the days of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the relief programs, a segment of the Democratic party has believed that welfare and social legislation beneficial to colored people would satisfy them without civil rights legislation."

THE REASON: The most common reason advanced for the President's reluctance to introduce any civil rights bills this year is that they would damage the Administration's chances of getting even its minimal economic program through.

President Kennedy appointed Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) and Sen. Joseph Clark (D-Pa.) to draft legislation to implement the party platform's civil rights plank, but so far they have produced nothing.

Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) has announced an omnibus civil rights bill to include among other things a fair employment practices act and an indefinite extension of the Civil Rights Commission scheduled to expire Nov. 8. Sen. Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.) has threatened to take advantage of the Kennedy gap by introducing a bill to aid school districts which desegregate and to strengthen the Justice Dept.'s power to fight denial of voting rights.

One big question still being asked is why Kennedy did not use his influence to change the Senate rules to prevent filibusters and to end reactionary control of the House Rules Committee.

A RESPONSIBILITY: At the time of the rules fight the **Afro-American** said: "If President Kennedy had but lifted a finger, the liberal forces would have won and the Dixiecrats would have faced crushing defeat . . . This leaves Mr. Kennedy burdened with all the greater responsibility to move boldly and with all deliberate speed through executive action. We shall see."

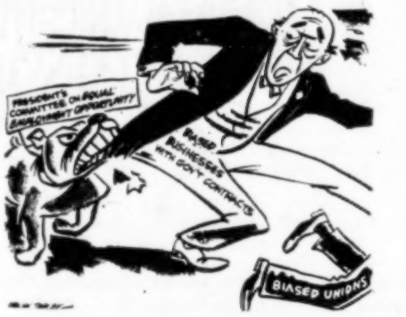
Clarence Mitchell, director of the NAACP's Washington bureau, said in a recent speech: "So far as civil rights bills are concerned, the New Frontier looks suspiciously like a dude ranch with Eastland as the general manager and Smith as the foreman." Mississippi's Sen. James O. Eastland, as chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, named Sen. Sam Ervin of North Carolina to head the subcommittee on constitutional rights. Rep. Howard Smith, Virginia segregationist is House Rules Committee chairman.

THE APPOINTMENTS: In contrast with his civil rights legislative approach, Kennedy is far ahead of any previous President in the number and level of his appointments. He recovered his reputation for good intent after having angered the Negro press by his offer of a Cabinet post to Rep. William L. Dawson, who refused to serve.

That offer, which seemed a publicity stunt to some, was followed by his appointments of Dr. Robert C. Weaver as housing administrator; newpaperman Carl Rowan to the State Dept.; Frank Reeves, an NAACP counsel, to the White House staff, and Andrew T. Hatcher as assistant White House press secretary.

Under the headline "Kennedy keeps on shaking them up," the **Amsterdam News** applauded the appointments of Clifton Wharton as ambassador to Norway and Christopher Columbus Scott as Deputy Assistant Postmaster General.

On the debit side is the all-white UN delegation except for Frederick Morrow, alternate, and the appointment of Charles Meriwether to the Export-Import Bank. Meriwether's record as a Klansman and political mastermind for Alabama's segregationist Gov. John Patterson brought heavy opposition.


PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY
BIASED BUSINESSES WITH GOV'T CONTRACTS
BIASED UNIONS

Tapley, Baltimore Afro-American

He means business . . . we hope!

SOUTHERN COURTSHIP: In his efforts to pay off campaign debts Kennedy has courted Southern politicians. Lautier reported in the **Afro-American** (March 11) that before Kennedy appointed Brooks Hays of Arkansas as Asst. Secy. of State for Congressional Relations, he called Gov. Orval Faubus for his OK. Negroes showed their influence, however, when they knocked out the scheduled appointments of Gov. Ernest Vandiver of Georgia as Secretary of the Army and Sen. J. W. Fulbright, a consistent foe of civil rights, as Secretary of State.

Negroes are still fighting for the appointment of Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Atlanta's Morehouse College, to the Civil Rights Commission over the opposition of Georgia's two senators, Richard B. Russell and Herman Talmadge. The senators have charged Mays with bias in favor of racial integration and with being "identified and associated with at least four Communist-front organizations."

NEW ORLEANS: Kennedy has come through best thus far on his promise to use the moral authority of his office in the New Orleans school desegregation struggle. After a weak statement on New Orleans in a Feb. 1 press conference, the New York **Herald Tribune** said "he remains baffled." The New York **Times** said: "We would like to see the President commit himself, totally, specifically, morally, and now."

On Feb. 9 Kennedy said: "As far as New Orleans goes, it is my position that all students should be given the opportunity to attend public schools regardless of their race, and that's in accordance with the Constitution. It is in accordance, in my opinion, with the judgment of the people of the United States. So there is no question about that."

A week later he paid tribute to New Orleans school officials who were trying to comply with a desegregation order. He said this was "no time for schools to be closed in the name of racial discrimination."

The Justice Dept. then expanded its contempt suit against Louisiana officials withholding funds from the New Orleans school board. The state treasurer announced that tax money would be released to the school board.

MORE SUGGESTIONS: The Southern Conference Educational Fund promptly wired congratulations to Kennedy and suggested further action which was endorsed by the **Afro-American:** (1) Make Federal funds available immediately to the school board; (2) Withhold all Federal non-welfare funds; (3) Prosecute all who interfere with court injunctions; (4) Send a personal envoy to confer with New Orleans interracial leaders.

Kennedy seems to have decided not to act directly in the areas of housing and education. The education proposal already submitted to Congress is under attack by the Catholic hierarchy because it does not provide for aid to Catholic schools, and by Negroes because it does not contain an anti-discrimination provision. The NAACP has called on its branches to demand that Federal aid be withheld from states which do not desegregate their schools and there is still the possibility that Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) will introduce an amendment against discrimination. Whether or not he does, Powell said, "will depend on my faith that the Kennedy Administration is continuing to broaden the meaning of democracy for all American citizens."

Secy. of Health, Education and Welfare Abraham Ribicoff angered Negroes when he said of a desegregation provision: "We should not block education with side issues." Ribicoff may have spilled the Administration's beans when he said "there is no law" authorizing denial of Federal funds to combat discrimination in education. Kennedy had said earlier that withholding of Federal funds from colleges that discriminate was one of the areas of possible action being considered.

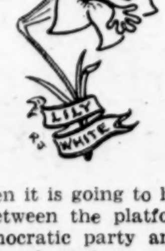
ON HOUSING: The President's housing message said nothing about discrimination. The **Wall Street Journal** declared Feb. 7 that failure to issue an executive order on housing "would be a clear-cut violation of one of Mr. Kennedy's most unequivocal campaign promises."

The **Journal pointed** to prospects of slipshod enforcement in Dixie as a way out, should an order be issued. Having a Negro as housing chief complicates the problem, but the **Journal** pointed out that after Dr. Weaver's speech to a home builders convention a builder said: "We were puzzled and apprehensive about Dr. Weaver's appointment, but we feel better now." Dr. Weaver has said that he favors "open occupancy," but hasn't yet worked out a plan to achieve it.

MEET THE PRESIDENT: Negro press comments indicate that Negroes feel Kennedy is moving too slowly.

The **California Eagle** said **Feb. 16:**

"Thus far the administration has maneuvered to evade a head-on clash over civil rights. Apparently it hopes to continue that course. But the time is coming when it is going to have to make a choice between the platform promises of the Democratic party and Mr. Kennedy's personal pledges on civil rights on the one hand or of truckling under to the South."



The **Afro-American** (March 11) quoted a speech made by Kennedy at a Los Angeles civil rights rally in September in which he said the President must draft civil rights legislation and fight for its enactment. The Afro said: "We submit the time has come for Senator Kennedy of Sept. 9 to meet President Kennedy of Feb. 21."

Economic recovery

(Continued from Page 1)

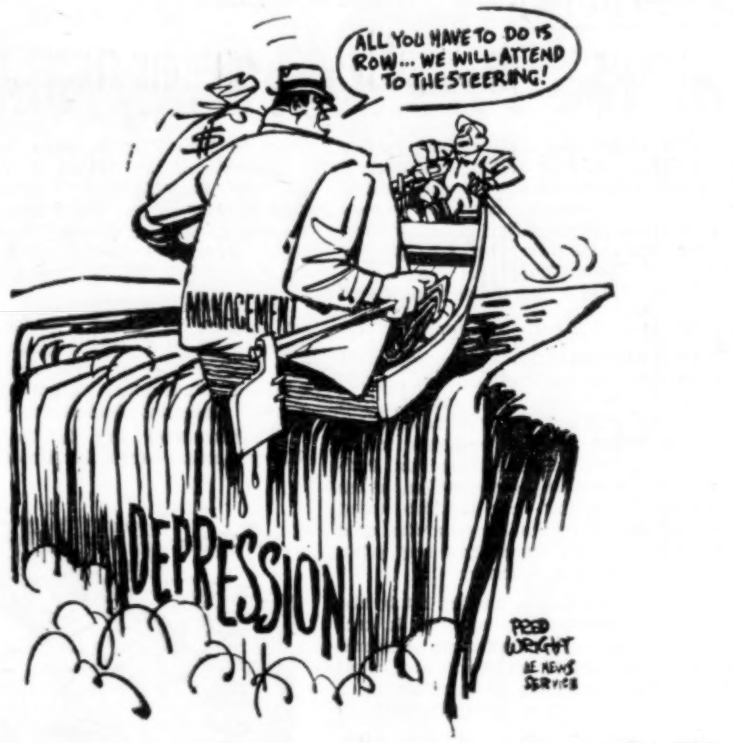
More than 192,000 workers exhausted their unemployment insurance benefits during February. **Life** magazine (March 10) pictured the situation in its leading feature thus: "Anguish of Men Without Work. The faces of the nation's jobless last week bespoke individual tragedies that were multiplied by the statistics of unemployment. . . . Anxiety, hunger and hopelessness beset Americans out of work . . ."

WHAT CONGRESS HEARD: Economic experts and leaders of the Kennedy Administration last week told Congress two things: (1) They expected that the recession phase of the business cycle was about to end and that business would improve in the next few months; (2) In spite of the expected business recovery, a stubborn, long term problem of mass unemployment would continue unless the rate of economic growth made exceptionally large advances.

Both Secy. of the Treasury Douglas Dillon and Secy. of Labor Arthur Goldberg told Congressional committees they believed a business upturn would begin next month. Dr. Walter W. Heller, chairman of President Kennedy's Council of Economic Advisers, was more cautious He held that an upturn "might develop in the next few months" but expected a slow change until after mid-year. Generally, non-governmental economists agreed that the recession was ending, although there were differences on timing.

GREATER CONCERN: But much more significant than the speculation was the concern over the long-range stagnation of the economy and the prospects of a cotinued high level of unemployment. Dr. Heller told the Congressional Joint Economic Committee: "An economic upturn would be only the beginning, not the end, of the solution to our economic problems." He warned of the "chronic slack" in employment and production. He said that even if an unprecedented 3.5% rate of growth were achieved by the end of 1961, unemployment would still hover around 6,000,000.

A similar emphasis on the large "hard core" unemployment that threatens to continue even with business recovery was given to the Joint Economic Committee by the head of the Federal Reserve System, William McChesney Martin Jr., who stressed the "indefinitely persistent" structural unemployment resulting from automation and other technological change.


ALL YOU HAVE TO DO IS ROW... WE WILL ATTEND TO THE STEERING!
MANAGEMENT
DEPRESSION
FRED WRIGHT
UE NEWS SERVICE

Drawing by Fred Wright

What presents the real challenge is the scale of recovery necessary to reduce unemployment to an "acceptable" level of around 3,000,000. The AFL-CIO Executive Council at its recent session in Florida held that "a 15% increase in national production in the two-year period between the end of 1960 and the final months of 1962" is needed to cut unemployment.

UNCERTAINTY AHEAD: President Kennedy's economic program now being considered by Congress is obviously not devised to deal with a deep and persistent depression, nor is it a crash program to achieve rapid increase in the growth rate of the economy. The effects of many of the Kennedy proposals are spread far and uncertainly into the future; and others have a limited impact on the level of operation of the economy. Following is the status of that program:

- **Accelerated spending and payments:**

The Administration has speeded up government procurement, construction, and highway program outlays, as well as payment of dividends for veterans' life insurance and tax refunds. These steps, similar to those taken by President Eisenhower in the 1958 recession, do not have a net effect on the economy, but do have a short-term effect by changing the timing of already established government outlays.

- **Temporary unemployment compensation:**

The House has passed, with only 30 dissenting votes, the bill to extend the duration of jobless benefits up to a maximum increase of 13 weeks. The expected cost of about $1 billion is to be financed through a temporary increase in the Federal Unemployment Tax. It is expected that the Senate will approve the measure soon without serious opposition. The Eisenhower Administration, which put through an almost identical program in 1958, found that TUC was its most effective anti-recession move.

- **Aid to children of unemployed:**

On March 10, the House of Representatives on a bipartisan voice vote approved a possible $305,000,000 in emergency aid to needy children of jobless parents. It is an optional program in which participating states would be required to put up 40% of the costs. At least 10 states have indicated they will not participate. Early Senate passage is expected.

- **Surplus food:**

On March 9 the President announced that the number of persons receiving free surplus food had risen from 3,500,000 in December to 6,100,000 in January, and the value of the monthly allotments per person from $12.80 to $24.40. Food stamp plan test areas are to be established in eight localities by June 1.

- **Minimum wages and hours:**

A somewhat modified Administration bill to raise the minimum wage to $1.25 after 28 months and extend the law's coverage to 4,000,000 additional workers has been reported out of the House Education and Labor Committee. It should pass the House soon and be taken up in the Senate shortly thereafter. Labor has demanded an immediate $1.25 minimum wage and much broader extension of coverage. Republicans would limit the increase to the initial $1.15 and delete the Kennedy proposal to advance to $1.25 after 28 months. The effect of this legislation on unemployment will be indirect and limited.

- **Depressed areas:**

The Administration program for $394,000,000 over a three-year period for loans and grants to aid depressed areas has been approved by the Senate Banking and Currency Committee and is pending in the Senate. Hearings are under way in the House. Passage is likely without significant modification. A limit of $100,000,000 during the first year is favored by the Administration.

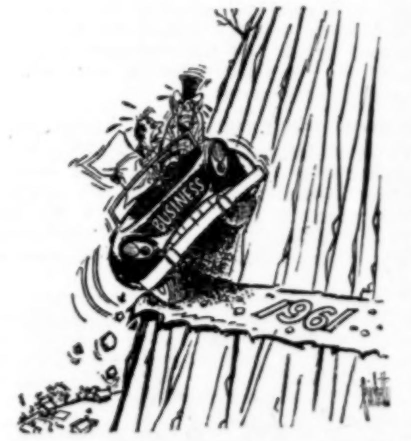
- **Aid to education and housing:**

President Kennedy's large scale proposals on Federal aid to education and housing are scheduled for early hearings in both the Senate and the House. It is impossible to gauge the economic impact of these programs at this stage since their size, method of financing and timing are so indefinite. The massive housing program when and if effectively implemented could have considerable effect.

- **Social security:**

There is virtually no prospect of action in 1961 on the proposed improvements in Social Security benefits and medical care for the aged. It is probable that the old age insurance benefits will be improved with bipartisan support in the election year of 1962. The prospects of the bills for medical care under social security are very uncertain because of powerful bipartisan opposition.

SUMMING UP: The Kennedy program for economic recovery at this point is limited by its devotion to the balanced budget principle. There is no program of deficit financed public works or welfare praojects. There is no general income tax cut proposal, and there is stiff opposition to the reduction of the standard work week as a means of dealing with unemployment. Columnist Sylvia Porter described it thus:



Fischetti, Johnson City Press-Chronicle
"The map shows the road gets wider further on."

"So far the Kennedy Administration has done little more to combat the current business downturn than a Nixon administration would have done—and to date it actually has shown more caution on anti-slump moves than the Eisenhower administration showed during the last downturn in 1958."

Dr. Heller told Congress March 6 that "whether additional stimulative measures will be needed depends on further economic developments."

The President is pledged to decide that question before April 18.

N.Y. radio symposium on Un-Americans March 21

A SYMPOSIUM on the Supreme Court decisions and the House Un-American Activities Committee will be broadcast by radio station WRFM in New York on Tuesday, March 21, from 11 p.m. to midnight. Participants include Theodore R. Kupferman, former president of the Federal Bar Assn.; Corliss Lamont, vice chairman of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and author of **Freedom Is As Freedom Does;** Prof. Norman Redlich of New York University Law School and C. Dickerman Williams, attorney and former member of the Board of Directors of the American Civil Liberties Union.

GUARDIAN TOUR

You Too Can Lose at Chess to a Six-Year-Old Korean!

(From a letter written by one of the 1960 Guardian tourists)

TASHKENT, June 4—". . . but best of all we met the most wonderful children, **hundreds** of them, whom you must meet to believe. They were the warmest, friendliest, most uninhibited children I have ever come across. They danced folk dances, recited poetry, and one little girl of about twelve insisted that I dance with her. How could I refuse? So we danced in a circle out of doors, about 60 of us, and she 'taught' me. Something was going on in every room in the building . . . a group of accordion players in one, ballet in another, art, carpentry, embroidering, etc. Outside there was a long table at which about 25 teams were playing chess. One of our men, who had been looking for chess partners all over Russia and is supposed to be a very fine player, started a game with a serious-faced Korean youngster about six years old. The youngster finally let our man beat him after about an hour and a half, but our man said the youngster had him cornered and could have beat him. . . ."

ON THE GUARDIAN'S 1961

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AFRICANS PUBLISH PURPORTED SECRET FOREIGN OFFICE PAPER

U.S. and British unions called government agents in Africa

AN ELECTION RALLY LISTENS TO KENYA LABOR LEADER TOM MBOYA
He is reported as accepting favors from both sides in U.S.-British rivalry.

AS THE INTERNATIONAL Confederation of Free Trade Unions was to meet in Brussels March 13, a document purported to be a secret British Foreign Office report was being circulated around the world, outlining a fight between the U.S. and Britain for control of ICFTU as a back door to Africa.

The document is dated Dec. 21, 1959, and describes secret intrigues of U.S. and European unionists with intelligence agencies to further their countries' economic and political interests in Africa. It is called "Annexe to Cabinet Paper on Policy in Africa." It fell into African hands and was published as a pamphlet, **The Great Conspiracy Against Africa,** by the All-African Trade Union Fedn. in Nigeria.

It was called a forgery by the British Foreign Office after excerpts were published in January in **Trud** in Moscow. But those who have followed the struggle for power in ICFTU point out that the document tallies with what was already known or suspected, if in shockingly frank terms.

A THRILLER: The document reads like an Eric Ambler spy thriller with references to agents and double agents and plot and counterplot. But the biggest jolt is the alleged close ties between AFL-CIO president George Meany and others with the State Dept. and the Central Intelligence Agency and their apparent willingness to serve the nation's business interests in the name of fighting "communism."

Britain's bad name in Africa as a colonial power limits the avenues it can use to continue economic and political control in the emerging nations. "In these conditions," the document says, "the role of trade unionism and therefore the role of ICFTU have acquired a new and vital importance for us . . . Since it is difficult to accuse trade unions of serving colonial ends, with their aid it should be possible to establish harmonious relations with the new social and political institutions in Africa now being created and with the administration of industrial and agriculture interests which we hope to maintain after any political changes. . . . Trade union help will be needed to check irresponsible nationalization and to maintain control in the key sectors of the economy in the newly created African states."

U.S. THREAT: But a major threat to British future in Africa is the U.S. The document refers to an alleged secret report by former Vice President Nixon written after his 1957 African tour, and a study said to have been made by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Nixon is said to have written: "The Western colonial crisis in Africa is both a challenge to and an opportunity for the extension of direct American influence . . . From the political point of view the European powers in Africa . . . are irrevocably tarred with their colonial past. America is heir to no such past in Africa. It is that fact that can make her heir to Africa's future . . .

"American interests in the future are so great as to justify us in not hesitating even to assist the departure of colonial powers from Africa. If we can win native opinion by this process the future of America in Africa will be assured."

The Senate study said, according to the document, "greater opportunities for profitable operations [in Africa] exist than has been realized . . ."

OTHER WAYS: U.S. tactics are reported as having been spelled out at a secret conference of ambassadors and senior officials at Lorenco Marques in Mozambique in 1959 by Joseph C. Satterthwaite, then Assistant Secy. of State for African Affairs. He is quoted as saying: "It is difficult for you as government officials openly to attack powers which are our allies in NATO. But there are other ways of doing this and one of them is through the AFL-CIO contacts in the African labor movement."

The Foreign Office is pictured as not upset that U.S. union leaders should be used as agents—British unionists do the same job—but as complaining of unfair competition. The U.S. labor movement, the document says, "has been built from above by highly paid trade union bosses and not from below as in Great Britain and in Europe . . . As a result, the American trade union leader such as Meany, Reuther and Dubinsky can afford directly and openly to execute governmental and particularly State Dept. and CIA policy . . .

"Their chief weapon, following American practice, is the bribery of anti-communist and anti-colonial elements in the trade union and nationalist movement. In agreement with the State Dept. and the CIA, the Americans have provided secret undercover support for such leaders as Tom Mboya [of Kenya] . . . Ailoune Cisse [of Senegal] . . . Jacques N'gom and Mbilla Marcous [of French Cameroun] . . . Macrae in Uganda and various individuals in Nyasaland, Togoland, etc.

"This is a crude and short-sighted policy . . . In order to be safe for our purposes the trade unions in Africa must appear to be organized from below on genuine trade union principles."

TWO TRENDS: African unionists are divided on strategy. One group favors a Pan-African federation, independent of all world federations, which would fight political as well as economic issues. It held a conference in Accra, Ghana, in 1958 which set up the All-Africa Trade Union Fedn. But it is still weak.

Another group met in Lagos, Nigeria, led by Mboya, and advocated an autonomous council in ICFTU.

In the document, the British view both trends as threats. They see the Pan-Africa plan as a way "to open the door to communism even if the political leaders fly the national flag." They opposed the Mboya plan because, the document says, "we have reason to believe that there is an understanding between him and the Americans and that the whole plan for emphasis on autonomy . . . is intended to be used by the Americans as an indirect means for spreading their influence in Africa . . . It seems clear that they have reached some private arrangement with Mboya not only politically, but probably personally and even financially."

INTERNAL RIVALRY: The fight for control of ICFTU began in 1955 when the U.S. representatives tried unsuccessfully to replace Jacobus Oldenbroek as general secretary with Omer Becu, a Belgian. Oldenbroek, a Hollander, had been a British agent during World War II, according to the document, and continued close ties with the Foreign Office.

The American unionists continued their efforts to overturn British domination and by the time of the ICFTU congress in Brussels in December, 1959, they had lined up enough support to take over. The Foreign Office paper was purportedly written just after the congress.

Meany proposed to replace Oldenbroek with Becu and to set up an African Regional Organization with wide powers under Mboya. He won on his African plan and Becu took over last summer under a general reorganization which also set up four assistant general secretary posts.

According to the document, the Foreign Office suggested, on the advice of British union leaders, that Prime Minister Macmillan "approach the American government officially and endeavor to make them instruct the American trade union leaders not to undermine our interests in Africa and to collaborate with us and other members of NATO in ICFTU." According to the document, the British were particularly incensed at Meany and charged that "much of Meany's paper . . . was lifted bodily from [Nixon's secret] report."

BRITAIN'S TRUMPS: Although the document views the 1959 ICFTU conference as a defeat, it suggests that Britain still had some trump cards. It says that in the U.S. support of Becu, "they are not aware of our agreement with him."

The document also says: "The Americans have probably overplayed their hand with Mboya . . . Mboya privately warned and consulted us about his speech and we have other indications that he wishes to further private collaboration with us. ('Provided it is kept private.') It seems possible that he thinks he has obtained all he can from the Americans."

Despite Meany's apparent victory, the feud in ICFTU has continued. Meany withheld a $221,000 payment to ICFTU's Intl. Solidarity Fund, due Dec. 31, 1960, because the Africa project had bogged down and because the reorganization committee refused to accept Irving Brown as an assistant general-secretary for Africa on the ground that he was a CIA agent. The check was sent when ICFTU officials agreed that the money would be earmarked for Africa and that reorganization plans would be ready for the March 13 meeting.

The AFL-CIO executive council last month appropriated $3,250,000 over three years to ICFTU "on a tentative basis, subject to completion of the reorganization program," and $330,000 for direct aid to African unions.

The document says that if the African unions were short of cash, "the State Dept. and the CIA [promised] Meany and Reuther that any funds necessary would be met from secret or, rather, 'aid' sources."

LEAK TO CIA: Despite the socialist traditions of British labor, the document says that its policy in ICFTU "is the result of confidential consultations over the years between [foreign office] officials and Labor Party and trade union leaders." They all agreed, according to the document, that "the principal danger that might arise [in Africa] was the political strike. This in Africa would be a primary and very dangerous form of alliance between nationalism and unionism."

The document suggests some of the unionists' motives: "In our discussions with TU representatives we expressed the hope that if they did their best to prevent political strikes, we on our side would instruct local authorities not to regard innocent industrial movements as a form of political challenge."

The payoff apparently was not enough for one union leader. The document says: "There are indications that somebody among our trusted TU leaders maintains close contact with the CIA and forwards confidential information to it through the American Embassy in London."

FORMER VICE PRESIDENT NIXON DURING HIS 1957 TRIP TO AFRICA
AFL-CIO chief Meany is accused of cribbing from his secret report

NATIONALISTS' DEMANDS SEEN AS MODERATE

Why West needs peace in Algeria

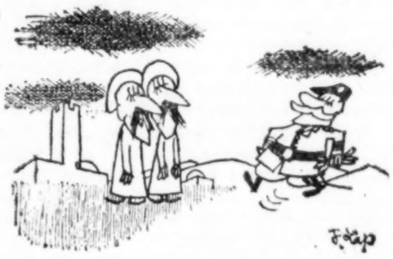
By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

THE WEST has several new reasons to press for peace in Algeria.

The lessons of the Congo events have made the long threatened internationalization of the Algerian conflict a risk not to be taken under any circumstances. The supposed pro-Soviet shift of the Provisional Government for Algeria (PGAR) left wing is an added motive—for Paris as for Washington—for speeding peace.

For another reason, this seems a particularly favorable time for the West to act. With the death of Mohammed V putting his much less neutralist son Hassan II on the Moroccan throne, the vision of a pro-Western Maghreb (federation of Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia) takes on substance for the first time. Some observers, over-simplifying the intricate play of conflicting interests even among partners on the same side of the fence, already see Morocco's Hassan II and Tunisia's Bourguiba, both pro-Western, pushing the reluctant Algerians, third member of the future Maghreb, not only toward peace but toward the West.



Lap, Canard Enchaine

Down with colonelialism!

But the West also has several reasons to follow closely all the details of an eventual peace negotiation. If the present preliminary contacts between Paris and the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN) actually get down to serious peace talks, there will be two difficult phases in which the entire West, to varying degrees, has vital stakes.

- **Algeria and the Sahara.**

When Premier Michel Debre recently spoke of the continued French presence in the Sahara, the PGAR, in the midst of delicate pre-negotiation moves, reacted sharply. The Algerians are determined not only to claim the future Independent Algerian Republic's sovereignty over the Sahara, but to proclaim it as of now. For the PGAR, there can be no discussing this point of principle. As for the production and sale of the Sahara oil, the Algerian government is said to seek a direct two-way agreement with Paris in the peace talks to come.

In the face of the Algerian position, Paris and Tunis each have a Sahara plan of their own.

The French plan would omit the Sahara sovereignty issue from immediate peace talks, and save it for future negotiation. For the present, only the exploitation of Sahara oil is to be discussed. The Paris plan sees all the Sahara border states (Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Mauritania, Mali, Niger and Tchad) sharing in the profits. Paris also claims that France and Algeria are natural partners in the future oil business: Algeria will have France as its principal customer, and France will be able to buy its oil inside the franc zone, i.e., without any foreign currency outlay.

The Tunisian plan also favors exploitation by all Sahara states, but wants the economic development of the Sahara, as well as the sale of its oil, internationally guaranteed, not only by the interested African states but also by several Western countries, including the U.S.

OTHER COMPLICATIONS: These European and African perspectives are affected by the U.S. position, which in turn may be influenced by private oil interests. Then there is the Soviet point of view which appears to prefer a direct Franco-Algerian oil deal to a U.S.-headed international guarantee implying further U.S. penetration in North Africa.

Finally there are the international oil companies some of which—Standard Oil of New Jersey, Shell—are prospecting in the Sahara. Their position is in part determined by their interest in the newly discovered Libyan oil which is expected to compete favorably with the Algerian product because it is cheaper to exploit, as cheap to transport, and far more abundant.

Whatever the final outcome, the transportation and refining of the oil—by far the most lucrative operations in the oil business—remain very largely in the hands of the Oil Trust.

- **Algeria and the Atlantic Pact.**

Aside from the Sahara issue, the PGAR's starting positions in eventual peace negotiations are said to be surprisingly moderate.

The Algerians seem ready to accept a transition period of association with France until the self determination referendum. The association would be limited to such questions as diplomacy, defense and education and, if successful, might continue in a limited form for some time after the vote.

The PGAR also offers serious guarantees of protection for the European minority. The French army would have to reduce its Algerian strength in stages to the 1954 (pre-insurrection) level at referendum time. Similarly, the Algerians would demobilize their National Liberation Army in about the same proportions. But the French army would still be large enough to offer full protection to the Europeans in Algeria who, pending their choice between French and Algerian citizenship, could participate at will in the country's civic and political life.

PAVING THE WAY FOR PEACE?
De Gaulle (l.) greets Tunisia's Bourguiba for top secret talks preliminary to peace negotiations with Algerian National Liberation leaders.

But whatever military concessions might be made, the future Algerian government is unshakeable on one point: It will not permit Algeria to become Atlantic Pact territory. It is said to be absolutely and irrevocably opposed to offering any part of Algeria for NATO bases.

This last refusal might annoy Bonn and Washington more than Paris, since de Gaulle has remained notoriously lukewarm on all efforts toward Atlantic or European supra-national integration.

THE ISSUE IS UNITY ON THE LEFT

Nenni's policies face a stiff fight at Italian Socialist Party Congress

By Phyllis Rosner
Guardian staff correspondent

ROME

PIETRO NENNI, the "grand old man" of Italian socialism (he celebrated his 70th birthday last month), was preparing for a hard battle at the 34th Congress of his party which opened at Milan on March 15.

His party is Italy's third largest and has an estimated 3,500,000 voters. The Italian Socialist Party differs considerably from the Social Democratic Party from which it split in 1947, and it also differs considerably from other Social Democratic parties in western Europe. It not only officially accepts Marxism, but it officially collaborates with the Communists in the trade unions and other mass organizations and in administering many local and provincial councils.

Few present-day Italian political leaders have managed to assume such widely differing attitudes on important political problems within such a short period as Nenni. Once he was a fervent defender of a democratic popular front with the Communists; then an acid polemicist against any form of alliance with them. Once he was an ardent anti-clericalist; at this moment he is a partisan of agreement with the Christian Democrats. Once he battled hard against the Atlantic Pact, now he accepts an "arrangement with the Western Powers."

NEVER DEFEATED: Despite his inconsistencies, he has always enjoyed a position of exceptional privilege in his party, and while often in a minority, he has never been defeated. He has always maintained close contact with the members and followers of the party—so much so that in the public mind he and the party are identical.

This prestige won him a majority at the last Socialist Party Congress in Naples at the beginning of 1959. The support he gained then (58% as against 33% for the left wing and 7% for the central group, led by Basso) was based more on emotional loyalty to him than on conscious agreement with his policy.

Since then the doubts about the correctness of his political line have deepened within the party. Even if he manages to obtain a majority at Milan, he knows there is a compact and militant opposition representing nearly half the members.

The division between his group, the "autonomists" as they call themselves, and the opposition or Left is basic. The issue is how to break the absolute rule of the clericals and of big business, exercised for the past 13 years over the country by the Christian Democrats or by governments dominated by them.

DEADLOCK: Over the years the strength of the Christian Democrats has diminished. At the last elections they obtained a little more than 40% of the votes. With the help of the minor center parties (Social Democrats, Republicans and Liberals) and sometimes with the support of the extreme Right (Monarchists and Neo-fascists), they have always so far managed to retain absolute rule. Against them are aligned the Communists (24.5% of the poll) and the Socialists (14.4%).

A certain deadlock has been reached. The Christian Democrats and their allies are unable to undermine the strength of the Left parties, with their strong and growing base among the workers, the small peasants and sections of the middle-class and intellectuals. On the other hand, the Left has not been able to increase its following decisively because of the strong support afforded by the Catholic Church to the Christian Democrats.

PIETRO NENNI
A man of many moods

Clearly, as the Communists and all tendencies within the Nenni Socialist Party see it, a breakthrough to a really democratic government—one prepared to carry out the much-needed reforms of the economic and social structure as stipulated by the 1946 Constitution—can only be enforced by a joint struggle. And it must be a joint struggle of the Left parties and of the mass of Catholic workers.

THE DIFFERENCES: The issue dividing the Nenni Socialists is how to achieve this breakthrough. Nenni argues for parliamentary and local rapprochement with the Christian Democrats, even at the price of breaking existing collaboration with the Left, in the first place the Communists.

Left-wing opponents of this collaboration say that it is a betrayal of the real interests of the working class and can only help the Christian Democrats.

In Parliament there is often a similar situation. Whereas in the past Socialist M.P.s voted against the Christian Democratic government, frequently they now abstain from voting.

LESSON OF NOVEMBER: On the national level, however, the Nenni Socialists continue to cooperate with the Communists in the trade unions and other mass organizations.

It was generally felt that Nenni would gain his majority at the Milan congress. Early this month in the 48 districts the Socialists were holding preparatory conferences; of the 24 held at this writing the Left had made progress.

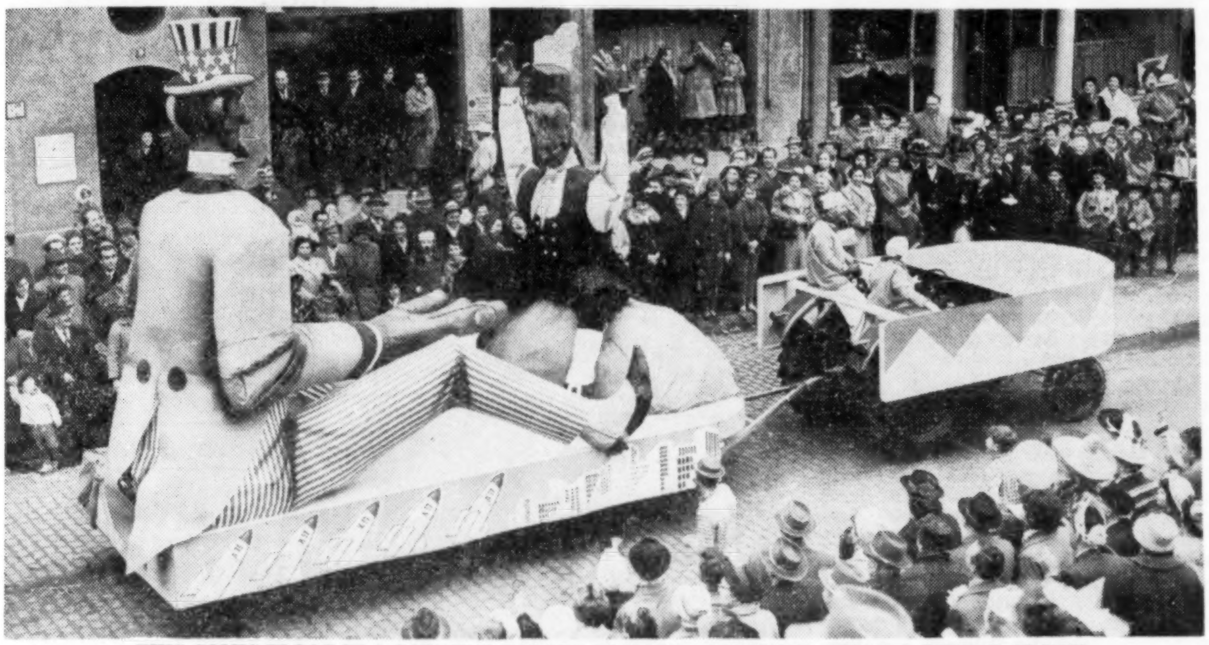
In any case, whatever the decisions adopted at Milan, the struggle within the Socialist Party will continue. It remains to be seen whether Nenni and his supporters will take to heart the lesson of last November's municipal elections. Then the Socialists lost votes on the basis of Nenni's policy; all the other Left parties, in particular the Communists, increased their poll.

Prof. Joan Robinson of Britain to speak in N.Y. March 22

PROFESSOR Joan Robinson, Reader in Economics at Cambridge University, England, will lecture on "Anti-Americanism" at a meeting sponsored by Monthly Review Associates at Palm Gardens, 306 W. 52nd St., New York City, on Wednesday, March 22, at 8:30 p.m. Tickets may be obtained from Monthly Review Associates, 333 Sixth Ave., New York 14.

ADENAUER HOLDS THE TRUMP CARDS

How cold war intensifies U. S.-German rivalry



THIS COMIC FLOAT IN A CARNIVAL PARADE IN MAINZ, GERMANY, TELLS A BITTER TRUTH
Uncle Sam's begging gesture pops the hat off the keeper of West Germany's moneybags

By Ed Sears

LATE LAST FEBRUARY. West German Foreign Minister Heinrich von Brentano boarded a plane at the New York International Airport. The pilot taxied it to the end of the runway, raced its engines, and then shut them off. The plane stayed where it was.

A thick fog had suddenly enclosed the field. All flights were hastily canceled until the fog lifted several hours later.

While Herr Brentano was understandably upset by the delay caused by this quirk of nature, he was probably far more concerned with the political fog which has enveloped the area of U.S.-German relations.

The once clear blue skies of German-American friendship have been darkened by what the New York **Times**, in its own restrained manner, has called "a small cloud on the horizon."

INTENSE RIVALRY: Herr Brentano had gone to Washington to see what he could do to disperse the cloud. Despite his efforts, the cloud remains. Unlike a fog of nature, it will not disappear on its own and may even become a major storm.

At the center lies the intense competitive rivalry between a vibrant, revitalized German capitalism and a stagnant, slow-moving American economy. Intertwined is the cold war, which, paradoxically, is responsible for both the close German-American collaboration of the past and the rivalry of the present.

Determined to reverse the postwar spread of socialism to Eastern Europe and China, U.S. policy makers scrapped their wartime promises in order to rebuild the shattered economies of their former enemies, Germany and Japan. They looked upon these two powers, and especially Germany, as their most reliable allies in the anti-Communist crusade.

In the years following the war, the U.S. poured billions of dollars into the German economy. These funds were at first supposed to be loans, to be repaid when Germany got back on her feet. By 1953, the Germans owed the U.S. more than $3,000,000,000.

THE WINDFALL: In that year, which was shortly after Germany joined NATO, the U.S. forgave approximately $2,200,000,000 of this debt. At the same time, the U.S. canceled another $1,500,000,000 of the German debt contracted between World Wars I and II. These actions gave the Germans a windfall of $3,700,000,000.

The U.S., in addition, agreed to assume the full cost of the upkeep of its troops in Germany. These expenditures have added another $3,600,000,000 to the coffers of the Federal Republic. All told, U.S. aid since the end of the war came to more than $7,000,000,000, which is approximately equal to Germany's holdings of gold and foreign exchange today.

The U.S. made these concessions at a time when it was the undisputed master of the capitalist world. By using the power of the then almighty dollar, it felt confident that it could keep its allies in line. U.S. policy makers, ignoring warnings both from the Left and from certain members of the business community, no longer feared the power of a revived Germany.

Nor did they reckon with the costs of the cold war. The cold war, they reasoned, brought prosperity to America. It thus assured, so they thought, stability at home and servility abroad.

END OF PIPEDREAM: The spectacular growth in the U.S. balance of payments deficit and the unprecedented gold outflow of the past few years effectively shattered these pipedreams. American officialdom suddenly realized that the cold war costs were beginning to pinch.

The American economy had reached a point where it could pay for the cold war only at the expense of American living standards. Unwilling to face the political consequences of an austerity program, the government—under both Kennedy and Eisenhower—has been trying to have the allies share the costs.

Of all its allies, Germany, the prime beneficiary of the cold war and second largest holder of gold and foreign exchange in the capitalist world (the U.S. still is the first), was the country which the U.S. felt was best able to help meet the cold war costs.

Last November, the lame-duck Eisenhower Administration sent former Secy. of the Treasury Anderson and Douglas Dillon, now Secy. of the Treasury and then Under Secy. of State for Economic Affairs, to Germany to plead for help. This mission ended in a complete fiasco, with the Germans giving a resounding "No" to the Americans' requests. The Anderson-Dillon mission drove home the point that the dollar was no longer almighty and that the Germans were no longer servile.

COUNTER-OFFER: Since then both sides have been trying to heal the breach. A lot of hard bargaining has already taken place and it will continue when Chancellor Adenauer comes here in April. While there is no doubt that the Germans will make concessions—they have, in fact, already made some—it is questionable whether they will ever agree to shouldering what the U.S. considers their fair share of the cold war costs.

Originally, the U.S. under Anderson demanded that Germany pay between $600,000,000 and $650,000,000 per year for the upkeep of American troops on German soil. The Germans, rejecting this on the grounds that these payments would give Germany the status of an occupied country, countered with an offer of approximately $1,200,000,000 in immediate assistance.

The package consisted of:

- Prepayment of $600,000,000 of the $787,000,000 debt which Germany still owed the U.S. for its postwar aid. This was originally scheduled to be repaid in full by 1978.

- Prepayment of $150,000,000 of arms orders already placed in the U.S.

- A promise to purchase and pay in advance for $450,000,000 of arms during 1961. The Germans had originally planned to purchase only $200,000,000 of arms in the U.S. this year.

- An agreement in principle to assume some of the expenses of keeping the Greek and Turkish governments in power. This is now costing the U.S. around $150,000,000 per year.

NOT GOOD ENOUGH: This offer infuriated Washington. All it did was to give the U.S. in 1961 funds which the U.S. would have received over a period of years. It really cost Germany nothing.

The Germans, furthermore, did not commit themselves beyond 1961. As far as they were concerned, this offer was a one-shot affair, beginning and ending with this proposal. The U.S., on the other hand, wanted a firm German commitment for the cold war's duration.

The Germans, in addition, attached a string to their offer. They wanted the U.S. to cancel the remaining German debt, $187,000,000, as payment for German assets seized during the war.

When the U.S. entered World War II, it took over the American properties of such German-owned firms as Rohm & Haas, Hugo Stinnes, and the Schering Corp. These properties were then valued at $428,000,000. At the end of the war, the U.S. agreed to limit its reparation claims to the value of these properties. Congress, as a result, passed a law prohibiting both the return of these properties or compensation payments to their former owners.

USURY IN REVERSE: Adenauer, however, is now insisting that the U.S. pay Germany for these assets because such payments "would uphold the sanctity of private property, even in wartime." These protestations fell on unsympathetic ears in Washington, especially since the U.S. had already written off $3,700,000,000 of German debts and since, furthermore, the Germans have never paid Americans anything for war damage claims against U.S.-owned property.

"This is really a proposition," stormed Sen. Kenneth Keating (R-N.Y.), "that the United States taxpayers pay a $187,000,000 fee for early repayment of $787,000,000 which is due them. Such a deal smacks of usury in reverse."

Since this uproar, the Germans have backed down a bit. They have agreed not to tie a war assets settlement to a balance-of-payments agreement. They have consented, in principle, to help the U.S. on a continuing basis, though significantly they have made no commitments as to the extent of this aid. They have increased their contributions to NATO, and they have, furthermore, reduced interest rates, which should cut down on the flow of American capital in Germany.

MARK REVALUED: More important, they have just raised the value of the mark from 23.8c to 25c. This will up the prices of German exports and lower those of imports. The U.S. should thus buy less from Germany and sell more to it, a development which will improve to a certain extent this country's balance of payments position.

The sum total of all these concessions is, however, very small as compared to the needs of the U.S. Even the revaluation of the mark, whose value was increased by only 5%, is not enough to make any significant dent in the balance of payments deficit. Many economists believe that the mark's value should be raised to around 35c and even as high as 50c to have a decisive impact.

The U.S. will have to do a lot more hard bargaining if it is to receive any real concessions from the Germans.

ADENAUER'S TRUMPS: When Kennedy faces Adenauer in April, he will undoubtedly press him for more concessions. Adenauer will enter these negotiations, however, with two trump cards.

First is West Germany's huge supply of dollars. Up to now, the Germans have been converting only 40% of their dollar holdings into gold while other countries have been converting as high as 80% to 90%. This policy, while helping stem the U.S. gold outflow for the present, gives the Germans a powerful talking point for the future. The Germans can convert these dollars into gold at any time they please, a move which could bring unpleasant consequences for the U.S.

Second, Adenauer can always sign a pact with the Soviet Union. Adenauer has appeared before the world as one of the staunchest "cold warriors." He had every reason to do so because his Germany was receiving enormous profits from the cold war. If the U.S. presses him too hard, he might find it more profitable to sign a pact with the socialist countries. The socialist countries, after all, offer good markets for German goods, while the U.S. offers hard competition.

KENNEDY'S CARD: Kennedy, on the other hand, has only one trump card, the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Germany. This would deprive the Germans of an income of $700,000,000 per year. Kennedy, however, cannot withdraw U.S. troops without coming to an understanding with the Soviet Union. This would, of necessity, involve ending the cold war.

As long as Kennedy insists on maintaining U.S. bases abroad, he will enter the Adenauer negotiations with his hands tied. He will be in no position to force the Germans to pay a significant share of the cold war's costs.

The continuance of the cold war can only spur the growth of German capitalism at the expense of American capitalism. The rivalries of these two capitalisms may well turn out to be even more intense than the struggle between the capitalist and socialist worlds.

Thus, today's "small cloud on the horizon" may turn into tomorrow's storm.

Peace actions

(Continued from Page 1)

legislation on the matter to give the National SANE Committee a chance to work out "the problem."

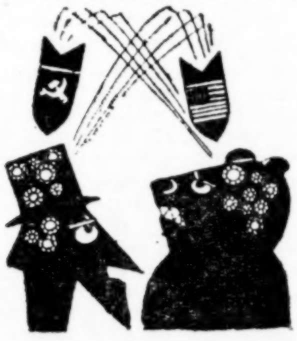
In answer to Dodd, Norman Cousins, SANE national co-chairman, said: "SANE bars from membership not only Communists but anyone not free to apply the same standards of independent criticism to other countries that apply to the U.S.A.

"SANE's program for controlled international disarmament is one that has been accepted by millions of Americans and is in keeping with proposals made by former President Eisenhower and President Kennedy."

UNAPPEASED: Dodd first opened up on SANE last May on the eve of a Madison Square Garden peace rally. He subpenaed Henry Abrams, the rally's coordinator, to closed hearings and questioned him on past associations with the American Labor Party and the Independent-Socialist Party. Abrams refused to answer.

Cousins volunteered to meet with the committee, and, according to Dodd, "offered to open the books of his organization to the subcommittee and to cooperate in every way to rid his organization of communists." Cousins called in Abrams and asked him if he was a Communist. Abrams refused to answer on principle, but he pledged that he "was not under the orders or instruction of any outside organization" and that his "sole concern was to make SANE a success." Cousins asked Abrams to resign.

Dodd was not appeased. In a Senate speech on May 25 he said: "I do not believe that the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy has taken the necessary measures to create a climate that is inhospitable to communist infiltration." He suggested that the best way for SANE to clear itself was to "clearly demarcate their own position from that of the Communists, first, by stressing the need for adequate inspection, second, by reiterating at every opportunity their opposition to the tyranny of communism."



Konkret, Hamburg

RESIGNATIONS: SANE has been in conflict ever since. On May 26 the national board issued a policy statement of standards for leadership which excluded CP members and those who are "not free to criticize other governments." The statement was expanded in October to extend the restrictions to membership.

The board's stand did not sit well with many in SANE who had long records in defense of civil liberties. Although the board had expressed resentment against the Dodd intrusion in May, they felt a stronger defense was in order. Veteran pacifist A. J. Muste, Rev. John W. Darr Jr., Quakers Robert Gilmore and Stewart Meacham, among others, resigned from SANE. Dr. Linus Pauling refused to join the national board and resigned as a sponsor.

The greatest turmoil resulted in the Greater New York Sane Committee, composed of representatives of local chapters and center of Dodd's attack. When the New York SANE leaders were subpenaed, according to Dodd, "the national committee advised [them] not to invoke the Fifth Amendment and it offered them the service of the committee's counsel."

On pressure from the national committee, the New York group returned its charter last November. Local groups were asked to apply for new charters directly from the national committee.

EASTER CAMPAIGN: Many in New York left SANE to search out other peace activity. Others, although dismayed by the national committee's stand, nevertheless remained in SANE because the organization had not weakened its stand for disarmament and a nuclear test ban.

As Dodd fired his lastest attack, SANE was organizing an Easter campaign. Canon L. John Collins, leader of Britain's famed Aldermaston marches, was to speak March 16 at the Ethical Culture Society auditorium, 64th St. and Central Park West, at 8 p.m. A film of the 1960 Aldermaston march was to be shown.

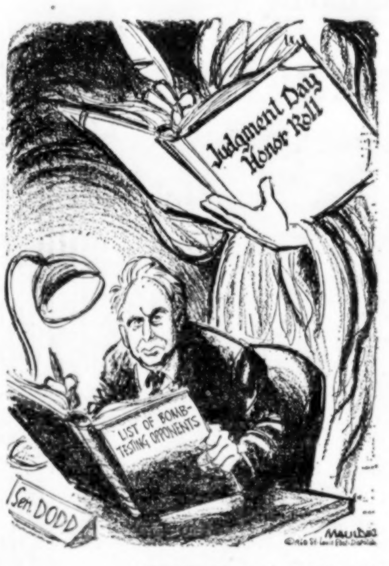
The New York, New Jersey and Student SANE committees scheduled a march to begin March 25 at McGuire Air Force Base in Wrightstown, N. J., and to culminate April 1 at a rally at United Nations Plaza. Rallies were scheduled along the way and New Yorkers were to meet the marchers at George Washington Bridge at 9 a.m. on April 1 to march to the UN. Further information is available from SANE, 17 E. 45th St., New York 17, N.Y.

NEW ENGLAND WALK: New York will have another peace walk at the same time. Members of the pacifist New England Committee for Nonviolent Action began a 340-mile walk in Kittery, Me., March 11, and are scheduled to reach Windsor Locks, Conn., March 22 and Hartford the next day. They are to reach New York April 1, where they will be joined by local supporters and members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Student Peace Union, War Resisters League and the 100 Days for Peace Committee. They will march through the Bronx and Harlem, halting for the night at 120th St. and Fifth Ave.

On Easter Sunday they will parade down Fifth Avenue, cross to Park Ave., and present disarmament petitions to the Soviet Embassy and the American Mission. A rally will end the day.

POLARIS ACTION: En route, two of the pacifists staged a protest at the commissioning of the Polaris nuclear submarine **Abraham Lincoln** at the Portsmouth, N.H., Navy yard. Arthur Harvey and Ed Guerard paddled a canoe toward the submarine as the ceremonies began intending to board the vessel for a nonviolent demonstration.

When the canoe was within 90 feet of the submarine, a Navy launch overtook it and hauled it back to shore. The pacifists tried it again when the canoe was released but they were overtaken again and arrested. They were taken to State Police headquarters, fingerprinted and released.



Mauldin, St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Kibitzer

Harvey, a subsistence farmer who previously served six months in jail for entering an Atlas missile base in Nebraska, said: "I would prefer to spend my time in a more constructive way than resisting war preparations. But I know that when the quiet woods around me are hiding missiles for incredible massacre, the soil itself cries out for someone to rise in protest."

Another CNVA member, William Henry, is serving a one-year sentence in Danbury Federal prison for boarding the nuclear submarine **Ethan Allen** at Groton last Nov. 22. He was sentenced again March 10 to a year in jail for similar action against the **George Washington** on Jan. 28. The sentences are to run concurrently. Federal Judge Robert P. Anderson told Henry that he would be released any time that he promised to give up such actions. Henry refused.

100 DAYS GROUP: The 100 Days for Peace Committee of the Greater New York Conference of Peace groups, which includes many persons who quit SANE, as well as some who remained, endorsed the CNVA walk and urged its supporters to participate. SANE had refused to invite the group to its walk because of "incompatibility."

The 100 Days group is concentrating on collecting signatures on a petition initiated by Dr. and Mrs. Linus Pauling to stop the spread of nuclear weapons. The committee has distributed 10,000 petitions. Deadline for signatures is April 15 when the NATO Council meets in Oslo, Norway. Petitions are available from the committee at 550 Fifth Ave., New York City.

The group has scheduled a meeting at Carnegie Hall, May 12, for a report from the Paulings on their Oslo trip. Tickets are $2.

On the 100 Days group's initiative 20 ministers and rabbis sent an appeal to 400 local clergymen urging them to deliver sermons for peace on March 25 and 26. Rt. Rev. Clarence E. Duffy will offer a peace sermon March 26 at the Church of Saint John the Baptist, 906 Columbus Ave., New York City. He said it would be open to all faiths.

VIGILS SCHEDULED: Witness for Peace, an action sponsored by 17 groups, including pacifists, Quakers and SANE members, is scheduled for Maryland and Washington, D.C., from March 30 to April 1. An all-day vigil March 30 at the chemical warfare base at Fort Detrick, Md., will open the action. A rally is scheduled that night. The next day a vigil will be held at the Atomic Energy Commission installation in Germantown, Md. A meeting is to be held at 8 p.m. at All Souls Church, 16th and Harvard Sts., Washington.

From 7 a.m. to 11 a.m. on April 1 a vigil is scheduled at the Pentagon. It is to be followed by a walk to the Washington Monument and a rally there at noon. At 3 p.m. another rally will be held "at the White House, State Dept. or other appropriate place."

Further information may be obtained from Witness for Peace, 326 W. Patrick St., Frederick, Md.

LABOR CONFERENCE: Labor's muffled voice for peace may grow louder April 14 and 15 when a conference on "Peace, Jobs and Freedom" is to be held in Chicago under the auspices of the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers). Sponsors include AFL-CIO leaders James B. Carey, Patrick Gorman, Emil Mazey, A. Philip Randolph, Frank Rosenblum and Arnold Zander.

Speakers include scientists William Davidon and Seymour Melman, psychologist Erich Fromm, unionists Mazey, Rosenblum, Zander, Sidney Lens and Ben Segal and Quaker leaders Stewart Meacham and Jack Bollens. The conference will be held at Morrison Hotel, 79 W. Madison St.

How cold war heats U. S.-German rivalry

The kind of reporting you find in the GUARDIAN, like the story on U.S.-German rivalry on page 7, is what makes the paper special. More Americans should have the GUARDIAN's kind of reporting for an informed viewpoint. Do your friends a good turn by sending them subscriptions. Special introductory sub, $1 for 13 weeks. A one-year sub is $5.

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HAVEN IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Veliotis saved from jail term in Greece

PETER VELIOTIS, 43-year-old Greek seaman who faced deportation for illegal residence here, is now in Czechoslovakia with his American wife instead of having been returned to Greece where he faced imprisonment for union activities.

Veliotis had been convicted in absentia by a Greek court, and testified at his hearing that hundreds of Greek seamen are in Greek prisons on similar charges. The Immigration & Naturalization Service permitted him to accept haven in Czechoslovakia, for which Veliotis had applied because his wife is of Czech origin.

At his hearing, Veliotis said he thought he had earned a right to stay in this country because of his wartime service in the merchant marine and with the Office of Strategic Services. He produced two documents showing that he had been assigned by the OSS to Algiers and to Alexandria, Egypt, as a civilian employe.

Public Affairs group to mark 25th year in N.Y. March 24

INVITATIONS are available at $6.50 for a day of panel discussions, a luncheon and a film preview at the 25th anniversary conference March 24 at the Biltmore of the Public Affairs Committee, publishers of Public Affairs pamphlets (of which the best seller of all 25 years has been **The Races of Mankind.**)

In the panel discussions 20 educators and community leaders will deal with "Integration—the Northern Score" and "Changing Social Patterns and the Family," conducted concurrently in the morning beginning at ten; and after lunch, "Changing Attitudes toward Health Care" and "The Creative Use of Leisure." Some of the discussion leaders will include Judge Hubert T. Delany, President James T. Dixon of Antioch College, New York City Health Commissioner Dr. Leona Baumgartner, August Heckscher of the Twentieth Century Fund and Laurance S. Rockefeller of the National Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission. The luncheon speaker will be Paul G. Hoffman, recently returned from Africa as director of the United Nations Special Fund.

Write the Committee at 22 E. 38th St. for reservations.

Chicago to hear Yuri Suhl on Jews March 24 and 26

YURI SUHL, author of a biography of Ernestine Rose, the novels' **One Foot in America** and **Cowboy on a Wooden Horse,** and volumes of Yiddish poetry, will speak in Chicago on March 24 and 26 on Jews in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and Israel. His first appearance will be at the home of Mr. and Mrs Robert Basker, 5010 Jarlath Ave., Skokie. His second lecture will be at the Hyde Park YMCA, 1400 E. 53rd St. Both lectures will begin at 8 p.m.

BOOKS

Meaning of culture and role of the critic

NOT MANY BOOKS promise to be provocative even before they are opened. But the British art critic John Berger's **Permanent Red*** achieves this with its jacket design, a pattern like a typed page, made from printing in repetition the ABC's of his art criticism. Here is a taste of the alphabetical delicacies: "D is for dealers who love birds for their feathers . . . H is for Hell the road to which is marked with good notices . . . K is for Karl Marx who put man first . . . R is for Realism, the ability to be your age . . . W is for the West and both its cultures: commercial and clerical . . . Y is for You who can make changes."

The title too, **Permanent Red,** may well refer to one of the most important colors in an artist's palette. But it may also refer with a sort of flamboyant joy to the permanent politics of the author. Berger makes it abundantly clear that he considers change as real, and that men with their arts and great technical skills will move society in the direction of satisfying their needs and rights. It is within this social context that Berger feels that art criticism gains its validity. He does not mean that all art must have a specific social subject. As he says, "Painting and Sculpture are clearly not the most suitable means of putting pressure on the government to nationalize the land."

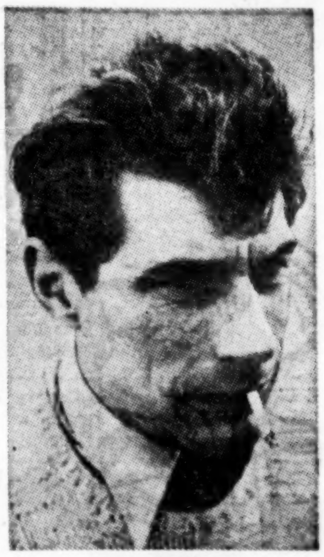
ONE OF THE marvels of this book, considering that its subject is art criticism, is that it is entirely clear. You may or may not agree with the author, but you know what he says. He uses none of the jargon with which the Initiate speak to the Few. Berger makes this point in his preface: ". . the book's aim is to stimulate thought in a field where normally there is very little indeed. Just that." To stimulate thought is extremely dangerous, but Berger proceeds to do it in a thoroughly amiable way throughout his book.

Permanent Red includes a number of articles originally written for the **New Statesman** in addition to material which is new. But the book is not a miscellany. You cannot dip into the essays at the end and get their full meaning without reading the beginning. **Permanent Red** is rationally planned so that the basis for criticism is established at the beginning, and all that follows relates to that beginning.

In the little essay, "Who is an artist?," Berger lets us understand how differently a person will observe, according to whether he is acting as a philosopher, a poet, or a painter. "The Experience of Drawing" is a fine description of what goes into the control of vision, from seeing to putting the vision on paper. The fact that Berger is himself a painter allows him to know and write of what the painter sees.

THERE ARE essays on the difficulties of being an artist, difficulties which are of course economic, technical, and psychological; about artists defeated by difficulties; and artists who struggle and to some degree achieve their intentions. The essays on "Twentieth Century Masters" and "Lessons from the Past" give us a sense of the rationality of change, the flight of some artists from reality, the efforts of others to find a means of expressing it.

What is perhaps most rewarding is the great number of penetrating observations that are tossed in along the way. Here are just three examples. In writing of Barbara Hepworth's sculpture, which he finds empty, he says: "Here I should emphasize that content is not the same as subject matter: it is what the artist discovers in his subject. It is the content that the artist distils from life and which, through the influence on the spectator as he comprehends it, flows back into life." This creative give and take between the artist and those for whom he creates is mentioned almost in an aside.



JOHN BERGER
Man is put first

Then, in describing the standstill to which modern art has come in spite of its vast technical experiments during the last fifty years, Berger speculates that "just as capitalist Europe nurtured the idea of socialism it has not been able to achieve itself, it has also created a modern art that it has not yet been able to develop."

AGAIN, in speaking of an age like our own, where there is no symbolism understood by almost everyone as in the medieval world, Berger says: "The artist may achieve some general truth, universality; but he cannot aim at such qualities directly. They will only be achieved by the most faithful insight into what it means to be a particular person in a particular situation."

In his preface Berger writes: "I hope the reader will put this book down with a clearer idea of what our culture means. I also hope that some will put it down with a clearer idea of what criticism can mean."

Permanent Red more than meets the author's hopes. His book is rich because he has the artist's eye, the critic's discernment, and the heart to care about what happens to people.

—**Alice Dunham**

**PERMANENT RED: Essays in Seeing, by John Berger. Methuen, London. 223 pp. 16s ($2.25).*

CAMPUS CONFORMITY

Witches in Academe

THE SURVIVAL, in the academic profession and diplomatic service, of what has been called "the debris of McCarthyism" is the theme of a new novel* by Ira Morris, a journalist and author of six previous best sellers. His present book is about the effect of the witch hunt on a professor, his wife, and their friends and associates in California and Japan.

The professor, Jordan Halliday, is well known as a liberal because of his book on Walt Whitman, the Rebel; also for the fight he led for intellectual freedom on his campus. His wife Lucy loves, respects and admires him. Only the professor himself knows what it was he told the FBI men when they caught up with him one day.

TO GET AWAY from the problem for a while he accepts an invitation to lecture on American literature at a university in Tokyo. But the problem is there, too. He finds the students and faculty of the Tokyo institution divided into the same groupings of Left and Right, progressive and reactionary. The liberal professor had been invited in the hope that he would not only teach but embody the best of American democratic principles. His Tokyo life is a series of challenges. The first time, he fails to take a clear stand. Then his sense of guilt increases. He and Lucy drift farther apart. An old boy friend of hers shows up . . .

It is an interesting subject, and enhanced by an enlightening picture of present-day Japan, the Japan of the peace demonstrations, the militant socialist movement, and the renascent fascist organizations.

THE PROFESSOR and his wife get to know some American diplomats and their wives who soon have to decide whether to go on being friends with a progressive, or to ditch him in the best interest of their careers. One of the diplomats "had learned from his own experiences . . . that independent thinking was no longer countenanced at any level of the diplomatic hierarchy; conformity was the password to success, and if . . . you did not conform, you had to crawl—or get out."

The portrayal of a guilt-ridden, inadequate man requires the kind of full-length, rigorous study that doesn't quite fit into a popular fiction package such as this.

INSTEAD of deep characterization, the author gives us intricate love triangles and spicy situations. The professor is not too well explained. His wife, Lucy, who is intended to be a typical progressive, comes out poorly. She is pictured as inspiring others and sending men into positions of danger (her brother was killed in Spain), but the high standard of uncompromising integrity she demands in other people comes fairly close to priggishness, since she doesn't try nearly hard enough to find out what's eating Jordan.

The style is awkward at times, at others slick; and the story is slowed down by repetitious scenes in the middle. But it does gather speed in the end for the tragic climax.

—**Ruth Mahoney**

**THE PAPER WALL, by Ira Morris. Alfred A. Knopf. 302 pp. $3.95.*

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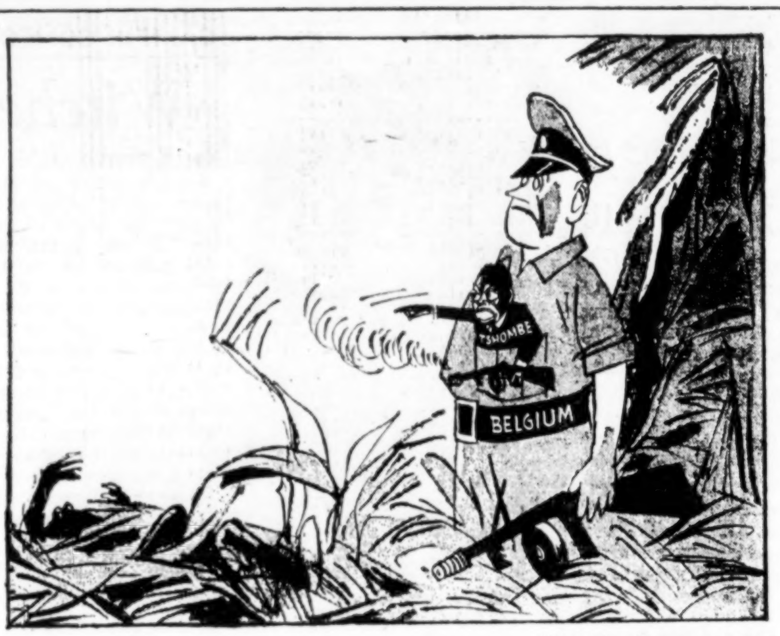
UN frustration

(Continued from Page 1)



Vicky, New Statesman, London

"Prove it!

Central government at Leopoldville and replaced it with a new confederation of sovereign states, each with its own President; (2) made President Kasavubu first among equals, a figurehead internationally representing the other Presidents; (3) called for the formation of a Council of States composed of all the Presidents, which will determine the tenure of the confederal President and the internal and international policies of the confederation; (4) proposed setting up a Coordinating Body between states to carry out the Council's decisions; (5) said it had cabled the UN asking for the annulment of the Feb. 21 Security Council resolution.

Kasavubu, Tshombe and Kalonji agreed to hold a conference soon in Belgian-controlled Elizabethville, capital of Katanga, to work out the details of the confederation. They have already expressed the belief that the Congo must be regrouped on a tribal basis.

WHO GETS WHAT?: If Tshombe, Kasavubu and Kalonji can get away with their plan, it would raise one exceptionally interesting question: What would happen to such giant concerns as Union Miniere and Forminiere in Katanga and South Kasai? Besides the Belgian, British and American partners in these copper, cobalt, diamond and uranium concerns, the "Government of the Congo" is also a shareholder. In terms of the constitution which the UN has gone into the Congo to uphold, this has expressly meant the central (Lumumba) government which had originally invited the UN Command.

Should the Tshombe-Kasavubu-Kalonji plan to form a confederation of sovereign states to replace the Central government succeed, the Gizenga administration in Stanleyville, holding half the Congo, would be the only government carrying on in the name of the original central government. To whom then would the dividends accruing to the central government go?

"DIVIDE AND RULE": Moscow's **Pravda** denounced the Tananarive conference as treason and said it had "underwritten the plans of colonizers to divide and rule." It charged that the Tananarive communique violated Security Council decisions on "the necessity to preserve the integrity and independence of the Congo." Togo's pro-West Premier Sylvanus Olympio criticized U.S. policy in the Congo thus:

"When the UN Command tried to get tough with Katanga leader Tshombe, the U.S. would not play. When they got tough with Belgium, the U.S. did not feel it could give its full support."

DISARMAMENT IMPASSE: The U.S. apparently is unwilling to discuss disarmament during the current Assembly session. Ambassador Stevenson on March 7 in a statement called for shortening the session by eliminating all agenda items except "the few items that are essential to the conduct of the business of the UN, such as elections to the Economic and Social Council, some issues in the Trusteeship Committee and the financing of the Congo operation." He said "a period of relative quiet" would help create "a better climate for serious negotiation on such vital subjects as disarmament."

The same day the Soviet delegation to the UN stressed the need for taking up the question of disarmament at the Assembly's current session. It declared that such a discussion was necessary "in order to promptly reach agreement at this session on a concerted basis for negotiations to elaborate a treaty on general and complete disarmament and on the composition of a working body for such negotiations."

THEY WANT PEACE: Moscow has given ample evidence of its desire for a speedy disarmament treaty. Reporting on the Sixth Intl. Conference of Scientists held in Moscow last Nov. 27-Dec. 5, Harvard law professor Louis Sohn, who participated in the conference, said (**Gazette and Daily**, York, Pa., Jan. 16):

"My principal impression was that the Russians sincerely and even desperately want peace and that they believe that this goal can be achieved only through 'general and complete disarmament.' . . . My second major impression in Moscow was that the Russians are more flexible in their attitude toward disarmament and controls than is generally understood."

On Jan. 19 James Wadsworth, retiring U.S. chief delegate to the UN and former U.S. negotiator at the Geneva nuclear test ban conferences, said:

"I think generally, by and large, that the Russian government has every intention of living up to any agreement they may make from the standpoint of nuclear tests or the larger areas of disarmament."

THE CONCESSIONS: On Jan. 27, in a letter to the New York **Times**, socialist leader Norman Thomas and Clarence Picket of the American Friends Service Committee deplored the fact that the **Times** and other U.S. newspapers have done little "to create an awareness of the concessions" which Moscow has made to the Western demands for disarmament agreement with adequate controls. They listed a number of the most significant such concessions.

Premier Khrushchev, responding to congratulations extended by President Kennedy on the launching of the Soviet Venus rocket, urged an early solution of the disarmament problem. Referring to Kennedy's proposal in his inaugural address for pooling efforts in the struggle against disease, the conquest of space and the development of culture and trade, Khrushchev said:

"We consider that the solution of the disarmament problem [with] strict international controls . . . would provide conditions favoring the earliest realization of these noble tasks before mankind."

A DANGEROUS THEORY: The Kennedy Administration's thinking, the **Times** said (Jan. 25), "appears to center on 'arms control' rather than on reduction of arms." This, and not the need for "a better climate,' was holding up a disarmament treaty. Declaring that "the basis of the doctrine of arms control [is] the conviction that if we cannot have superiority in arms, we ought, at least to have equality," Seymour Melman of Columbia University said (**Nation**, Feb. 11):

"And it is the more dangerous because, while remaining a salable theory to the Pentagon and to the arms industry, it can—and is—being sold to the public as a kind of disarmament." He added: "This much is clear: arms control is a theory of armament, not of disarmament."

N.Y. rally March 24 to hear protests against Gen. Swing

JAMES ARONSON, editor, NATIONAL GUARDIAN; Julio Medina, public relations secretary of the July 26th Movement, and June Gordon, executive director of the Emma Lazarus Foundation of Women's Clubs, will speak at a rally to protest the retention of Gen. Joseph M. Swing as chief of the Immigration & Naturalization Service. The meeting, sponsored by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, will be held at Judson Hall, 165 W. 57th St., New York City, on Friday, March 24, at 7 p.m. The contribution is 99c.

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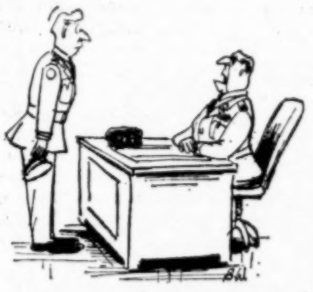
THE GALLERY

SOUTHERNERS WHO CLING to the notion that Grant really surrendered to Lee at Appomattox are busy celebrating the Civil War centennial. Most of the white males in Montgomery, Ala. —capital of the Confederacy, suh—grew beards to commemorate the inauguration of Jefferson Davis. The inauguration was reenacted last month in the best Dixie tradition. Montgomery attorney T. B. Hill in a long dark coat and high hat impersonating Davis led a parade to the state capitol. He sat in a horse-drawn carriage and waved to the crowd of top-hatted men and hoop-skirted belles. On the spot where Davis took office, Hill recited this vow: "I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of president of the Confederate States of America, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the constitution thereof." A band played **Dixie.** It rained all day and by the time Hill finished his vows he was all wet . . . In Atlanta, commemoration of the Confederacy got mixed up with Yankee commercialism. Loew's Grand Theater decided to hold an "anniversary premiere" of **Gone With The Wind** on March 10. They had to invoke a "state's rights" interpretation of "anniversary" to do it; the film opened Dec. 15, 1939. But few quibbled. Least of all the film's actors who came for a Centennial Ball. Olivia de Haviland, who played Melanie in the movie, led a motorcade down Peachtree Street to welcome the stars. Gov. Ernest Vandiver was grand marshal at the ball where celebrants waltzed in costumes of the Old South. As Fred Allen's Senator Claghorn used to say, "It's a joke, son!" Only no one is laughing.

The GUARDIAN's Robert E. Light will be heard in New York on WBAI (99.5 FM) Thurs., March 23, at 7 p.m. The program, part of the station's commentary series, will be rebroadcast March 24 at 9:30 a.m.



Wall Street Journal

"Colonel, you KNOW any proposal to cut red tape has to go through channels!"

A HOT-SHOT PUBLICITY MAN in the United Arab Republic got busy last month when he spotted "Mrs. Eisenhower" and "Mrs. Kennedy" on the passenger list of an incoming plane. When the plane landed in Cairo, Mrs. Eisenhower and Mrs. Kennedy stepped onto a red carpet and officials rushed to greet them. Their luggage went through customs in record time. The ladies seemed surprised but they enjoyed the attention. Mrs. Eisenhower was flustered when one official asked her how her husband was getting on. "Why I haven't seen the man in 20 years," she said. "Last I heard he was a salesman in Nebraska." The red carpet was quickly rolled up and Bella Leponda Eisenhower and Jean Allison Kennedy of Midland Park, N.J., were asked to rejoin the other tourists. . . . Five prostitutes in Paris filed suit March 9 for damages against the French national television network. They were seen in a documentary film on prostitution and they claimed they were photographed without permission while plying their trade. The plaintiffs complained they had had the "disagreeable surprise of recognizing themselves and being recognized by their families and friends." . . . Joseph Polowsky, who was one of the GIs who linked up with the Russians at the Elbe on April 25, 1945, has kept his word for an annual celebration of the event. This year he issued a call for 15 veterans to join him April 25 for a visit to the Torgau Memorial in Germany where they will meet a group of Russian veterans and pledge themselves to world peace. Interested vets should write to Joseph Polowsky, 4126 Sheridan Rd., Chicago 13, Ill.

—**Robert E. Light**

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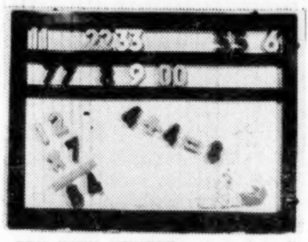
NEWSPAPER

The Children's Corner



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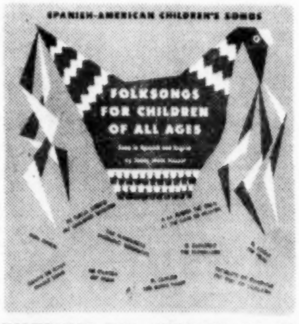
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the SPECTATOR

Dixie's angry young men

A TALK with the Southern Negro sit-in demonstrators who chose to go to jail to show their determination to win Negroes' civil rights is a talk with America's really angry young men.

"The Movement doesn't need people who are patient. It needs people who are impatient," said Robert McCullough, 18-year-old student at Friendship Junior College in Rock Hill, S.C. Adult Negro leadership is "definitely too conservative," said Thomas Gaither, 22-year-old field secretary for the Congress of Racial Equality.

The age-old conflict between impetuous youth and cautious adulthood is sharply defined in the civil rights movement. In many communities like Rock Hill, where Gaither and McCullough recently spent 30 days on a chain gang, adults have long limited their activity to liaison between white and Negro. "This often meant: tell the white one thing and the Negro another." The Negroes who have risen to some positions of power in the South often give "lip service to freedom," Gaither said. "They make beautiful speeches, but they have too many vested interests to take any action."

SOME ADULTS are different. The father of one of the demonstrators worked in a Kress store where his daughter was sitting in. Every day he told the store manager he wouldn't let her sit in anymore and every night he told his daughter he wouldn't try to stop her." Five ministers picketed the Rock Hill variety stores when the students were sent to jail; a boycott of the stores soon to be extended to all of downtown has been nearly complete; and a thousand persons from several states traveled in a motorcade to visit the prison. "The guards were sure nervous that day. We had 125 visitors."

"What we need is action," McCullough stressed. When the action leads to jail, it shows "we mean what we say." McCullough said: "Now I've served my 30 days, there is no turning back. I've got too much in it to stop now." McCullough is a short, sturdily built, young-looking 18. He's quiet. "I'm not much on speeches," he said. "I like action. That's why I like CORE which believes in direct action."

Gaither and McCullough are two of 13 who sat in at a McCrory lunch counter in January and chose the chain gang after they were found guilty of trespassing. Their action is part of a growing movement among the students—jail-going, rather than fine-paying. They feel that large numbers of students serving on prison work gangs has an important impact on the community. They also note that fines can be a serious drain on the movement's resources. Gaither said the students even had a positive effect on other Negroes in prison for criminal offenses. The reason for their jailing had meaning for other prisoners and so did their behavior.

EACH MORNING the students held a devotional service and read from the Bible, prayed and sang hymns. Prison officials said hymn-singing was against prison regulations, but the students considered it an integral part of their services and refused to stop. "They were really mad when we sang: 'Before I'll be a slave, I'll be buried in my grave.'" Gaither grinned and said: "We sang, 'My country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty,' and we really rang out on the 'Star Spangled Banner.'"

For punishment, the group was confined for three days in a crowded cell with no beds and no lights. They refused to eat their bread and water rations as a protest against the transfer of one member of their group. The hunger strike ended when prison officials assured them that the missing student was safe in another jail. The singing didn't stop.

How did they feel about prison? "I knew I was there for a good reason, that I hadn't broken a law. If I had broken a law I wouldn't have been able to look people on the outside in the face," Gaither said.

HE ROSE, walked to the window and smiled: "You see, God intended segregation; He sends down all white snow. You remember that white minister who said that the kneel-ins were wrong because the Tenth Commandment says 'do not covet thy neighbors house'?" Robert answered with mock surprise that he thought it was God's house. "No, the man said neighbor's house."

Their quiet humor is a mark of their calm determination, their courage. "They're trying to indict me for conspiracy to murder." Murder? "Umm. Ever hear of Col. James Crow?"

Some of the songs of the sit-in movement are semi-bitter parodies. One, sung to the tune of My Darlin' Clementine, is: "In the Senate of our country making laws for you and me, sit the Dixiecrats together shouting Negroes can't be free . . . but they're wrong and we will prove it. Dreadful sorrow, Dixie-rats."

THE STUDENTS have found a way to fight back; they know the fight will be long and hard, but they say: "The Movement will cease only when racial discrimination in every form is completely eliminated." Among the hardships is facing the police who are lax in keeping order when white hoodlums attack demonstrators. The degree af laxity varies slightly in different cities. Prison guards' verbal abuse, and the antagonisms of white prisoners are other problems they face. One white prisoner drew a knife on McCullough.

Most of the students with whom I have talked became fully aware of segregation when they reached their teens—the time when social life changes. With Robert it was when he was 14. "I went to work on a farm with five white boys. When it was time to eat, the white boys ate in the house and they brought a plate to me in the backyard. I only worked there one day, and when I went home that night I said: segregation must go. My education won't do me any good as long as segregation is at large. I'd still have to take a back seat and go in the back door."

—Joanne Grant